1 2 3 4 5 I'm going to ask as I introduce each of the panelists if they would come forward and take their seat at the table. We're going to proceed immediately 7 this morning to our expert panel on lotteries entitled: "Who Wins and Who Loses". EXPERT PANEL ON LOTTERIES: WHO WINS AND WHO LOSES? 10 Alan Karcher, 11 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: 12 Karcher is an attorney in private practice, who from 13 1973 to 1990 served as a member of the New Jersey House of Representatives during the period in which New 14 Jersey decided to allow gambling. Mr. Karcher authored 15 a book titled Lotteries, published in 1989. 16 17 Good morning and welcome. MR. KARCHER: Good morning. 18 And, let's see. 19 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: The next person we have is Reuven Brenner. Mr. Brenner is 20 21 a Professor of Economics at McGill University and is recognized internationally for 22 his expertise

gambling issues. Professor Brenner has published

23

- 1 extensively and is one of a very narrow field of
- 2 economists who are expert in the area of gambling.
- 3 Thank you for being here this morning and
- 4 welcome.
- 5 MR. BRENNER: Thank you.
- 6 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Samuel DePhillippo, and
- 7 I apologize, I think I slaughtered your name yesterday.
- 8 I did a little better today and by tomorrow I'll have
- 9 it down.
- 10 MR. DePHILLIPPO: I've had worse things
- 11 said.
- 12 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: He's served as the
- 13 Executive Director of the Massachusetts State Lottery
- 14 Commission since 1995 and, again, personally, thank you
- 15 for all of your help in putting this meeting together,
- 16 and we appreciate all you've done. With nearly a
- 17 quarter century of sales and marketing expertise, he
- 18 has oversight of one of the nations most well known
- 19 lotteries.
- 20 I will also take this opportunity again to
- 21 inform each panelist that under the supplemental rules
- 22 of the Commission, testimony before the Commission
- 23 shall be conducted and be considered to be under oath.
- 24 The Commission may question witnesses, who maybe

- 1 We will begin with you, Mr. Karcher, and
- 2 thank you so much for being here.
- 3 MR. KARCHER: Thank you. Let me begin by
- 4 saying that my interest in the subject stemmed out of
- 5 really, it grew out of an interest in taxation and
- 6 attempts, often futile, to persuade my colleagues in
- 7 the New Jersey Assembly that we ought to concentrate on
- 8 progressive ways to raise taxes rather than regressive
- 9 ways.
- I had occasion after a brief stint, four
- 11 years as Speaker of the House in New Jersey, to come up
- 12 here to Boston, the Boston area and be at Harvard as a
- 13 Fellow at the Kennedy School, and it was during
- 14 that time that I started to put a pen to paper on what
- 15 I thought was going to be a magazine article and grew
- 16 into a 120 page book. The written statement that I
- 17 have submitted to the Commission is constituted by the
- 18 conclusions of that book.
- 19 Let me make some observations. Number one,
- 20 lotteries are here to stay. It is part of human
- 21 nature, it is ingrained in human nature. People like
- 22 to gamble, they like to gamble in all forms. We, in
- 23 New Jersey, have realized one thing, I think, after a
- 24 very long and extensive period of trying to suppress

- 1 gambling. What we did in 1897 was ban all forms of
- 2 gambling constitutionally. What we found the result to
- 3 be was counterproductive to the efforts to suppress
- 4 gambling. Rather, illegal gambling became the major
- 5 source of funding organized crime.
- 6 Ultimately, New Jersey had to re-legalize
- 7 gambling or decriminalize gambling, almost as a matter
- 8 of self-defense, so that the organized crime element
- 9 would not have a monopoly on the revenue from gambling.
- 10 We in New Jersey, of course, have a tendency to move in
- 11 a pendulum type fashion so we swung from an absolute
- 12 ban on gambling to being one of the states that has the
- 13 most extensive legalized gambling that there is.
- 14 Let me make these other observations about
- 15 the lottery in particular and my area of interest in
- 16 it. For those who buy tickets and lose regularly, it
- 17 is an effective tax rate of 100 percent. There are few
- 18 taxes that anyone would tolerate in our society of
- 19 anything approaching that magnitude. Yet, we have no
- 20 qualms about having a tax rate that for the vast
- 21 majority of players is at an effective rate of 100
- 22 percent.
- Using all the euphemisms that are used in
- 24 the lottery industry, such as the fact that it is not a

- 1 tax, it is the take out, I always thought that was a
- 2 great euphemism, the take out of the lottery. Still,
- 3 the studies I've seen and I looked at them more
- 4 intensively ten years ago, but I don't think they've
- 5 changed much, the effective rate, when you take the
- 6 aggregate of all money gambled in the lottery pool, and
- 7 you take into account the take out by the state and
- 8 then all applicable other taxes, about 85 cents out of
- 9 every dollar gambled winds up in some government's
- 10 coffer, whether it be the federal government, the state
- 11 government, the local government, et cetera, et cetera.
- 12 About 85 percent of every dollar gambled winds up being
- 13 consumed in some kind of tax.
- I want to also take one other moment to
- 15 address the question about who wins and who loses, and
- 16 I say this almost anecdotally, I live now in Princeton,
- 17 New Jersey. Princeton is a wonderful place, the home
- 18 of an incredibly fine institution, that was built
- 19 primarily with lottery funds. Princeton University has
- 20 that history and it was, much of the campus was
- 21 destroyed in the Revolutionary War by British Troops.
- 22 It was rebuilt by the use of a lottery.
- 23 Princeton is also a very affluent
- 24 community. So, when I say anecdotally, I went and

- 1 searched for lottery outlets in Princeton. Princeton
- 2 ranks as one of the ten top median incomes in the
- 3 state. There is no lottery outlet in any main section
- 4 of Princeton, New Jersey. To find the lottery outlet,
- 5 one has to go to that section of the community which is
- 6 demographically much poorer and much different than the
- 7 area near the campus.
- 8 The same is true throughout New Jersey.
- 9 There is an absolute inverse ratio between the wealth
- 10 of the community and the number of outlets. In the ten
- 11 richest towns in New Jersey, there is probably one
- 12 agent for every two or three thousand people, where you
- 13 find in the cities, the ghettos and the realms of the
- inner cities, you find one agent for every 300 people.
- There is a saturation of lottery outlets
- 16 and agents that in my judgment verges on racism. This
- 17 is a calculated, planned saturation of a certain
- 18 market, an absolute ignoring of other markets. I think
- 19 as long as we have that, we have to be troubled by who
- 20 wins and who loses, and I look forward to answering
- 21 questions that you might have.
- 22 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Thank you.